

THE WAR.

Highly Important News from Washington.

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Troops Despatched to Garrison Harper's Ferry.

IMPORTANT FROM THE SOUTH.

Proclamation of the President of the Confederate States.

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ARRIVAL OF THE MASSACHUSETTS TROOPS.

The War Feeling Throughout the North.

See, See, See.

OUR DESPATCHES FROM WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, April 17, 1861.

The administration is considerably alarmed to-day lest an attempt be made by the secessionists in Virginia to seize the government vessels now at Norfolk. Intimations of such a purpose on their part were received here this morning.

There are now six vessels of war at Norfolk, namely, the Merrimack, Germantown, Baltimore, United States, Pennsylvania and Potomac. The three former are in excellent condition, and can soon be got ready for sea. The three latter are in a disabled condition.

Owing to the present precarious and unsettled state of affairs in Virginia, the government to-day decided to strengthen all the military posts in the State. Several companies will immediately be despatched to Harper's Ferry.

The administration will at once take the necessary steps to remove them to some other point in the event of the Virginia Convention passing the secession ordinance. The administration has not yet decided to blockade the Southern ports. They will probably wait until something definite is known respecting Fort Pickens. If the revolutionists capture that fort, then the government will be compelled to blockade every port from Charleston to the mouth of the Mississippi.

Advisors received to-day from Montgomery indicate pretty clearly that it anticipates a blockade of all the ports. They are confident that England and France will not permit a blockade. Assurance are in their possession, it is said, that France will raise it in less than sixty days. This is directly contrary to information in possession of the Lincoln government. It is the present policy of both France and England, and the government is so assured, not to interfere in any manner with either action. Both these great Powers have indicated, through the proper channels, their feeling of regret at the present deplorable condition of affairs.

The greatest anxiety prevails in administration circles to hear from Pensacola. Up to this evening nothing has been received. It is very probable that the revolutionary authorities will prevent anything being sent to the administration, especially if it should be unfavorable to them.

WASHINGTON, April 17, 1861.

An Englishman named Jasper arrived here this morning from Charleston, S. C. He came by way of Richmond, Va. He reports that he was arrested in Charleston, charged with being the correspondent of the New York Times, and that the British Consul interfered and demanded of Governor Pickens that he be released. The Consul notified Governor Pickens that if the release was not promptly made he should forthwith order the British West India fleet to blockade Charleston, and would demand satisfaction of the United States government, and his government would release Jasper by force. Governor Pickens immediately apologized to the Consul and ordered the release of Jasper, and when he left Charleston Governor Pickens, at the request of the Consul, delivered to Jasper a passport, which he showed in this city this morning.

Jasper states that before the attack on Sumter there was considerable talk about making a demonstration against Washington; that they took the general ground that the North was divided, and had no blood, and that it would be the easiest thing in the world to seize Washington. They, of course, were waiting the action of Virginia to aid them. Jasper says that since the attack on Sumter, to which he was an eye witness, the evidence that there was no division in the North, but, on the contrary, a united uprising of the whole North and West, and a universal expression of indignation and determination to put down the rebellion, must strike them as an awful reality which they did not dream

of. Jasper says he came through Richmond yesterday, and conversed with the leader of the secessionists there, who assured him that they were only awaiting the order of Governor Pickens to seize the Norfolk Navy Yard. He reports that the statement was made to him that the secession ordinance passed the Convention in secret session yesterday, and that for the most part known to themselves the fact has been kept secret. The secessionists, who would have immediately reported such action to the government if it was true, Jasper called upon the Secretary of War this morning and reported the above mentioned facts.

Washington is full of Union men, and recruiting is going on with great rapidity. The national feeling is raging at a high fever. The responses to the call of the President in the North and West are a subject of much discussion and great rejoicing. The secession presents a very lively military appearance. The drum and fife are constantly heard, and from every public building the Stars and Stripes may be seen floating.

There is little doubt but that the prompt action of the British Consul at Charleston in Jasper's behalf may be taken as evidence of the sympathy of the British government towards the North and against the South.

A despatch has just reached here from Dayton, Ohio, asserting that Mr. Vallandigham, a member of the last Congress, has been mobbed and his house torn down, on account of his sympathies with the secessionists. He publicly announced in a speech in Richmond, last winter, that when the struggle came he would take side with Virginia. This declaration probably has had something to do with the reported demonstration against Mr. Vallandigham.

The Treasury Department has issued an order directing that the name of First Lieutenant Rogers be stricken from the roll of the revenue service, for having, while in command of the revenue cutter Henry Dodge, in violation of his official oath, and of his duty to the government, surrendered his vessel to Texas.

Gov. Sprague has been telegraphed to come hither with Rhode Island's quota of troops without delay. Additional volunteer companies were mustered to-day by the War Department, and others are forming to offer their services to government.

THE BORDER SLAVE STATES.

Reported Defeat of the Secession Ordinance in Virginia.

WASHINGTON, April 17, 1861.

Secretary Seward has received private information within an hour, direct from Richmond, that the Virginia State Convention, in secret session last night, decided against the act of secession by a majority of seven. Since learning this I have seen another messenger, direct from Virginia, who confirms the report received by Mr. Seward.

A messenger has just come in from Alexandria, who asserts that it would be impossible for an act of secession to pass the Richmond Convention without his knowledge, and he himself assures me that when he left Alexandria, at eleven o'clock this forenoon, no such action had been taken, and he does not believe it will happen. He is a well posted and intelligent gentleman, and can be relied upon. If the secession act should pass, it will have to be submitted to the people.

There have been all sorts of rumors in the city to-day about the concentration of troops in Virginia for the purpose of attacking Washington; also a report that a Virginia, instead of a John Brown raid, has been made upon Harper's Ferry. But the government has no information confirmatory of such reports.

There is, nevertheless, apprehension that, in the event of the passage of an act of secession by the Richmond Convention, that an attempt will be made, not only to seize the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, for the purpose of getting possession of the arms deposited there, but also to take the Navy Yard at Norfolk, and Fort Washington, and Fort Monroe. The government is not inactive relative to these points.

A gentleman who left Richmond this morning, says that business in that city is entirely ruined; that the people express the greatest bitterness towards the North, but that they exhibit little better feeling towards the States that have seceded, believing that by their head long and insane course the present melancholy state of affairs have been precipitated. So determined are the middle groups men—and they are a powerful element—that they openly declare that if they have to secede from the Union, they will only do so upon the understanding that the border States will form a separate confederacy. Not they assert that they will never join the Southern confederacy; they prefer by far to remain in the Union.

I am certain that but for the fact that Virginia has voted to oppose any attempt of the federal government to coerce the seceded States, the feeling there would now be very different, and no doubt the Governor would feel authorized to respond to the President's requisition for troops; but having taken that position, the leading men of the State, who feel bound by it, do not see how they can retreat with honor. They seem to lose sight of the fact, that the seceded States have attempted to coerce the federal government until forbearance ceases to be a virtue. The government has no quarrel with Virginia, and Virginia can have no quarrel with the government, unless she insists that disloyal States, unlike herself, shall be allowed to commit treason, steal the public property, fire upon unarmed vessels bearing the flag of the country, and with seven thousand men, with all the modern weapons of warfare, a possible yet starving garrison of federal troops numbering only seventy men. If she seeks to present herself to the world in this light, she will find no sympathy from the federal government, and will only incur the natural calamity which is so fast befalling the disloyal States that have preceded her.

A secret Convention of secessionists, called to meet at Richmond yesterday, assembled there to-day. My informant says quite a number of them were in secret caucus in Richmond last night, and the belief is that their Convention has more to do with a raid upon the capital than anything else. Among those present last night was Mr. Ashby, who commanded the Virginia troops at Harper's Ferry at the trial and execution of John Brown.

Instead of waiting the assembling of the Convention to-day, Ashby left Richmond this morning, and came on as far towards Washington as the branch road to Harper's Ferry, when he changed cars for the latter place.

Companies have been ordered to Harper's Ferry, and unless an attack is made before they reach there no fear is expressed on the part of the government that the Arsenal will be seized.

RICHMOND, April 17—P. M.

The ordinance of secession has not as yet passed the Convention, and they are still in secret session. Nothing certain is known of the proceedings transacted.

BALTIMORE, April 17, 1861.

It is not thought here that there is any truth in the rumor about Harper's Ferry. There is a company of regulars there.

REPORTS FROM MARYLAND.

WASHINGTON, April 17, 1861.

The administration have determined to give the Union men in Maryland all required aid to prevent Maryland joining the South. It is believed, by leading and influential gentlemen from Baltimore now here, that she can be held in the Union. It is of the highest importance to the government that Maryland should remain with the North, for if she should go with the South it would be almost impossible for Washington to remain the seat of government. Therefore it is that the administration has determined, at all hazards, to keep Maryland with the North.

I learn from Baltimore to-night, that the secession movement in that city is wholly based upon the probability that Virginia will secede.

It is reported here that Mr. Kane, Chief of Police of Baltimore, said last night that there were ten thousand secessionists in and about Baltimore pledged to prevent any Northern Western military companies from passing through that city. There are known to be twenty-four hundred organized Union men in Baltimore, who will stand by the Union at all hazards. They are backed by the great commercial and monetary interests of Baltimore.

Gov. Hicks was waited upon last night at his hotel by Company F, the Governor's Guard, who informed him that they had come to sing the "Star Spangled Banner" with him. The Governor expressed pleasure at the visit, and said he was too hoarse to join with them, but he would tell them he was still under the Stars and Stripes. The "Star Spangled Banner" was then sung by company F.

voices, with fine effect. The Governor thanked the visitors for the courtesy, and said he hoped the song would be sung on all fitting occasions forever. The Union must be preserved.

A Youngsman—Governor, you have done your duty no far. GOVERNOR—Yes, and I intend to keep doing so. YOUNG—We'll stand by you. Much enthusiasm was manifested.

MISSOURI REFUSES TROOPS.

St. Louis, April 17, 1861.

The State Journal publishes the following reply from Governor Jackson to Secretary Cameron:

RECEIVED DEPARTMENT, JEFFERSON CITY, Mo., April 17, 1861.

Sir—Your requisition of the 15th instant, making a call on Missouri for four regiments of men for immediate service, has been received. There can be, I apprehend, no doubt but these men are intended to form a part of the President's army to make war upon the people of the seceded States. Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional and revolutionary in its object, and I cannot and will not comply with it. Not one man will of the State of Missouri, furnish or carry on such an unholy crusade.

C. F. JACKSON, Governor of Missouri.

REPORTS FROM TENNESSEE AND KENTUCKY.

NEW ORLEANS, April 17, 1861.

At Memphis an immense meeting was held last night, and resolutions passed, declaring Memphis out of the Union and her determination to stand by the South. Accounts from Kentucky state that large numbers are enrolling under the Confederate flag.

HIGHLY IMPORTANT FROM THE SOUTH.

Proclamation of the President of the Confederate States.

THE SERVICES OF PRIVATEERS SOLICITED.

PROCLAMATION OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.

PROCLAMATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

Whereas, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, has, by proclamation, announced intention of invading the confederacy with an armed force, for the purpose of capturing its fortresses and thereby subverting its independence and subjecting the free people thereof to the domination of a foreign power; and whereas, it has thus become the duty of this government to repel the threatened invasion and defend the rights and liberties of the people by all the means which the laws of nations and usages of civilized warfare place at its disposal.

Now, therefore, I, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, do issue this my proclamation, inviting all those who may desire, by service in private armed vessels on the high seas, to aid this government in resisting an invasion and warring an aggression, to make application for commissions or letters of marque and reprisal, to be issued under the seal of these Confederate States; and I do further notify all persons applying for letters of marque, to make a statement in writing, giving the name and reliable description of the character, tonnage and force of the vessel, name of the place of residence of each owner concerned therein, and the intended number of crew, and to sign each statement, and deliver the same to the Secretary of State or collector of the port of entry of these Confederate States, to be by him transmitted to the Secretary of State, and I do further notify all applicants aforesaid, before any commission or letter of marque is issued to any vessel, or the owner or the owners thereof, and the commander for the time being, they will be required to give bond to the Confederate States, with at least two responsible sureties, interested in such vessel, in the penal sum of one thousand dollars, or if such vessel be of less than one hundred and fifty men, then in the penal sum of ten thousand dollars, with the condition that the owners, officers and crew who shall be employed on board such commissioned vessel shall observe the laws of these Confederate States, and the instructions given them for the regulation of their conduct, that shall satisfy all damages done contrary to the tenor thereof by such vessel during her commission, and deliver up the same when revoked by the President of the Confederate States. And I do further specially enjoin on all persons holding offices, civil and military, under the authority of the Confederate States, that they be vigilant and anxious in the discharge of the duties incident thereto; and I do, moreover, exhort the good people of these Confederate States, as they love their country—as they prize the blessings of free government—as they feel the wrongs of the past, and those now threatened in an aggravated form by those whose enmity is more implacable, because unprovoked—they exert themselves in preserving order, in promoting concord, in maintaining the authority and efficacy of the laws, and in supporting, invigorating all the measures which may be adopted for a divine defence, and by which, under the blessings of Divine Providence, we may hope for a speedy, just and honorable peace.

In witness whereof, I have set my hand and have caused the seal of the Confederate States of America to be attached this Seventeenth day of April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one.

JEFFERSON DAVIS, President.

ROBERT THOMAS, Secretary of State.

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND MEN CALLED FOR.

MONTEGOMERY, April 17, 1861.

The Cabinet had a long session to-day. A proclamation will be issued to-morrow calling 150,000 more troops into the field.

Tenders have been made for letters of marque and reprisal. Fifty thousand Tennessee and Kentucky troops were offered this morning at Montgomery to the War Department.

One gentleman of this city has taken one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars of the Confederate loan at par, and paid the amount in gold.

There will be from 75,000 to 100,000 men in the field in less than thirty days.

The government is likely to get large amounts of money from European ship builders.

THE FIVE MILLION LOAN OF THE REVOLUTIONISTS.

CHARLESTON, April 17, 1861.

Charleston has taken \$2,000,000 of the loan at par. \$1,200,000 was paid in cash.

The city subscription to the Confederate loan this morning is \$2,000,000. The books will be opened again to-morrow.

New Orleans took \$2,700,000 at par, and the people are not done subscribing at either place.

Mobile took \$300,000; all taken by small bidders. Capitalists hold off till to-morrow.

The government has been asked from New Orleans for the \$15,000,000 loan.

Nothing of stirring importance has occurred to-day.

Subscription books for the Confederate States loan was opened to-day, and the rush of subscribers are very great.

TEXAS.

GALVESTON, April 17, 1861.

On Sunday the Star of the West was still off Indianola. The Empire City and Mohawk left on Friday evening with troops. Their destination is unknown.

THE FLEET OFF CHARLESTON.

Captain Crocker, of the steamship R. R. Cayler, from Savannah, arrived yesterday morning, reports that on the 14th inst., fifteen miles north of Cape Roman, passed a steaming, painted black, with sidebooms, the smoke stack gone, bound south (the Yankee). Same day, at two P. M., spoke steamship Baltic off Charleston bar. The captain of the Baltic said to him—"We take Major Anderson and his command to New York." The Harriet Lane was inside the bar. They both had steam up. There was also a steamer inside the bar, bark rigged, probably the Imbel. Saw Fort Sumter; there were no breaches in the walls; the outside looked somewhat battered. When some four or five miles away heard a salute fired, probably Major Anderson leaving the fort.

IMPORTANT FROM WASHINGTON.

The Correspondence Between Mr. Seward and the Confederate Commissioners.

THE GAGE OF WAR THROWN DOWN AND ACCEPTED.

St. Louis, April 17, 1861.

The following is the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Commissioners from the Confederate States:

MESSRS. FORSYTH AND CRAWFORD TO MR. SEWARD, OPENING NEGOTIATION AND STATING THE CASE. WASHINGTON CITY, March 12, 1861.

Hon. Wm. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State of the United States.

Sir—The undersigned have been duly accredited by the government of the Confederate States of America as Commissioners to the government of the United States, and in pursuance of their instructions have now the honor to acquaint you with that fact, and to make known, through you, to the President of the United States, the objects of their presence in this capital.

Seven States of the late federal Union having, in the exercise of the inherent right of every free people to change or reform their political institutions, and through conventions of their people, withdrawn from the United States and resumed the attributes of sovereign power delegated to it, have formed a government of their own. The Confederate States constitute an independent nation, de facto and de jure, and possess a government perfect in all its parts and endowed with all the means of self-support.

With a view to a speedy adjustment of all questions growing out of this political separation, upon such terms of amity and good will as the respective interests, geographical contiguity and future welfare of the two nations may render necessary, the undersigned are instructed to make to the government of the United States overtures for the opening of negotiations, assuring the government of the United States that the President, Congress, and the people of the Confederate States earnestly desire a peaceful solution of these great questions; that it is neither their interest nor their wish to make any demand which is not founded in strict justice, nor do any act to injure their late confederates.

The undersigned have now the honor, in obedience to the instructions of their government, to request you to appoint as early a day as possible in order that they may present to the President of the United States the credentials which they bear and the objects of the mission with which they are charged. We are, very respectfully, sir, your obedient servants.

MARTIN J. CRAWFORD, JOHN FORSYTH.

THE REPLY OF MR. SEWARD.

WASHINGTON, March 15, 1861.

Mr. John Forsyth, of the State of Alabama, and Mr. Martin J. Crawford, of the State of Georgia, on the 11th inst., through the late offices of a distinguished Senator, submitted to the Secretary of State their desire for an unofficial interview. This request was, on the 12th inst., upon exclusively public considerations, respectfully declined.

On the 13th inst., while the Secretary was preoccupied, Mr. A. E. Baker, of Virginia, called at the department and received by the Assistant Secretary, to whom he delivered a sealed communication, which he had been charged by Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford to present to the Secretary in person.

In that communication Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford inform the Secretary of State that they have been duly accredited by the government of the Confederate States of America as Commissioners to the government of the United States, and they set forth the objects of their attendance at Washington. They observe that seven States of the American Union, in the exercise of a right inherent in every free people, have withdrawn, through conventions of their people, from the United States, re-assumed the attributes of sovereign power, and formed a government of their own, and that these Confederate States constitute an independent nation, de facto and de jure, and possess a government perfect in all its parts and fully endowed with all the means of self-support.

Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, in their aforesaid communication, then proceed to inform the Secretary that, with a view to a speedy adjustment of all questions growing out of the political separation, they are instructed to make to the government of the United States overtures for the opening of negotiations, assuring the government that the President, Congress and people of the Confederate States earnestly desire a peaceful solution of these great questions, and that it is neither their interest nor their wish to make any demand which is not founded in strict justice, nor to do any act to injure their late confederates.

After making these statements, Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford close their communication, as they say, in obedience to the instructions of their government, by requesting the Secretary of State to appoint as early a day as possible, in order that they may present to the President of the United States the credentials which they bear and the objects of the mission with which they are charged.

The Secretary of State frankly confesses that he understands the events which have recently occurred, and the condition of political affairs which actually exist in the part of the Union to which his attention has thus been directed, very differently from the aspect in which they are presented by Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford. He sees in them, not a rightful and accomplished revolution and an independent nation, with an established government, but rather a perversion of a temporary and partisan excitement to the inconsiderate purposes of an unjustifiable and unauthorized aggression upon the rights of the Union, and the federal government, and hitherto benignly exercised, as from their very nature they always must be exercised, for the maintenance of the Union, the preservation of liberty, and the security, peace, welfare, happiness and aggrandizement of the American people. The Secretary of State, therefore, avows to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford that he looks patiently but confidently for the cure of evils which have resulted from proceedings so unnecessary, so unwise, so unusual and so unnatural, not to irregular negotiations, having in view new and untended relations with agencies unknown to and acting in derogation of the constitution and laws, but to regular and considerate action of the people of these States, in co-operation with their brethren in the other States, through the Congress of the United States, and such extraordinary conventions, if there shall be need thereof, as the federal constitution contemplates and authorizes to be assembled.

It is, however, the purpose of the Secretary of State on this occasion not to invite or engage in any discussion of these subjects, but simply to set forth his reasons for declining to comply with the request of Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford.

On the 4th of March last, the then newly elected President of the United States, in view of all the facts bearing on the present question, assumed the executive administration of the government, first delivering, in accordance with an early and honored custom, an inaugural address to the people of the United States. The Secretary of State respectfully submits a copy of this address to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford.

A simple reference to it will be sufficient to satisfy those gentlemen that the Secretary of State, guided by the principles therein announced, is prevented altogether from admitting or assuming that the States referred to by them have, in law or in fact, withdrawn from the federal Union, or that they could do so in the manner described by Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, or in any other manner than with the consent and concert of the people of the United States, to be given through a national convention, to be assembled in conformity with the provisions of the constitution of the United States. Of course the Secretary of State cannot assent upon the assumption or in any way admit that the so-called Confederate States constitute a foreign power, with whom diplomatic relations ought to be established.

Under these circumstances the Secretary of State, whose official duties are confined, subject to the direction of the President, to the conducting of the foreign relations of the country, and do not at all embrace domestic questions or questions arising between the several States and the federal government, is unable to comply with the request of Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, to appoint a day on which

they may present the evidence of their authority and the objects of their visit to the President of the United States. On the contrary, he is obliged to state to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford that he has no authority nor is he at liberty to recognize them as diplomatic agents, or hold correspondence or other communication with them.

Finally, the Secretary of State would observe that, although he has supposed that he might safely and with propriety have adopted those conclusions without making any reference to the subject to the Executive, yet so strong has been his desire to practice entire directness and to set in a spirit of perfect respect and candor towards Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, and that portion of the people of the Union in whose name they present themselves before him, that he has cheerfully submitted this paper to the President, who coincides generally in the views it expresses, and sanctions the Secretary's decision declining official intercourse with Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford.

APRIL 8, 1861.

The foregoing memorandum was filed in the Department on the 10th of March last. A delivery of the same, however, to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford was delayed, as was understood with their consent. They have now, through their secretary, communicated their desire for a definitive disposition of the subject. The Secretary of State therefore directs that a duly verified copy of the paper be now delivered.

A true copy of the original, delivered to me by Mr. F. W. Seward, Assistant Secretary of State of the United States, on April 8, 1861, at 2:15 P. M., in blank envelope.

J. T. PICKETT, Secretary to the Commissioners.

THE COMMISSIONERS IN REPLY TO MR. SEWARD, ACCEPTING THE GOVERNMENT OF DESTRUCTION, AND ACCEPTING A SOLUTION BY THE SWORD.

WASHINGTON, April 9, 1861.

Hon. Wm. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State of the United States, Washington.

The "memorandum" dated Department of State, Washington, March 15, 1861, with postscript under date of 8th inst., has been received through the hands of Mr. J. T. Pickett, Secretary to this commission, who, by the instructions of the undersigned, called for it on yesterday at the department.

In that memorandum you correctly state the purport of the official note addressed to you by the undersigned on the 12th ultimo. Without repeating the contents of that note in full, it is enough to say that the object was to invite the government of the United States to a friendly consideration of the relations between the United States and the seven States lately of the federal Union, but now separated from it by the sovereign will of their people, growing out of the pregnant and undeniable fact that those people have rejected the authority of the United States and established a government of their own. Those relations had to be friendly or hostile. The people of the old and new governments, occupying contiguous territories, had to stand to each other in the relation of good neighbors, each seeking their happiness and pursuing their national destinies in their own way, without interference with the other, or they had to be rival and hostile nations. The government of the Confederate States had no hesitation in electing its choice in the alternative. Frankly and unreservedly, seeking the good of the people who had entrusted them with power, in the spirit of humanity, of the Christian civilization of the age, and of that Americanism which regards the true welfare and happiness of the people, the government of the Confederate States, among its first and sacred duties, commissioned the undersigned to approach the government of the United States with the olive branch of peace, and to offer to adjust the great questions pending between them in the only way to be justified by the conscience and common sense of good men who had nothing but the welfare of the people of the two confederacies at heart.

Your government has signed the conciliatory note which you are commissioned to present. The theory of construction of that note, for the purpose of the undersigned, has always been, and is now, that the States referred to by those of the administration have produced their natural and obvious consequences, and that the government of the United States, in the destruction of the Union, under which they have continued to live happily and gloriously, have annihilated the hearts of all their sons, and have perpetrated a crime against humanity, which will be wrought, refuse to recognize the great wrongs sent to you of a completed and successful revolution, close your eyes to the existence of the government founded upon it, and ignore the high duties of moderation and humanity which attach to you in dealing with this great fact. Had you met those issues with the frankness and manliness with which the undersigned were instructed to present them to you and treat them, the undersigned had not now the melancholy duty to return home and tell their government and their countrymen that their earnest and ceaseless efforts, in behalf of peace had been futile, and that the government of the United States meant to subjugate them by force of arms. Whatever may be the result, impartial history will record the innocence of the government of the Confederate States, and place the responsibility of the blood and mourning that may ensue upon those who have denied the great fundamental doctrine of American liberty, that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and who have set naval and land armaments in motion to subject the people of one portion of this land to the will of another portion. That that can never be done while a freeman survives in the Confederate States to wield a weapon, the undersigned appeal to past history to prove. These military demonstrations against the people of the seceded States are certainly far from being in keeping and consistency with the theory of the Secretary of State, in his memorandum, that the three States are still component parts of the late American Union, and that the undersigned are not aware of any constitutional power in the President of the United States to levy war, without the consent of Congress, upon a foreign people, much less upon any portion of the people of the United States.

The undersigned, like the Secretary of State, have no purpose to "invite or engage in discussion" of the subject on which their two governments are so irreconcilably at variance. It is this variance that has broken up the old Union, the disintegration of which has only begun. It is proper, however, to advise you that it were well to dismiss the hopes you seem to entertain that, by any of the modes indicated, the people of the Confederate States will ever be brought to submit to the authority of the government of the United States. You are dealing with delusions, too, when you seek to separate our people from our government and to characterize the deliberate, sovereign act of that people as a perversion of a temporary and partisan excitement. If you cherish these delusions you will be awakened from them and find them as unreal and unsubstantial as others in which you have recently indulged. The undersigned would omit the performance of an obvious duty were they to fail to make known to the government of the United States that the people of the Confederate States have declared their independence with a full knowledge of all the responsibilities of that act, and with an firm determination to maintain it by all the means with which nature has endowed them as that which sustained their fathers when they threw off the authority of the British crown.

The undersigned clearly understand that you have declined to appoint a day to enable them to lay the objects of the mission with which they are charged before the President of the United States, because so to do would be to recognize the independence and separate nationality of the Confederate States. This is the vein of thought that pervades the memorandum before us. The truth of history requires that it should distinctly appear upon the record that the undersigned did not ask the government of the United States to recognize the independence of the Confederate States. They only asked audience to adjust, in a spirit of amity and peace, the new relations springing from a manifest and accomplished revolution in the government of the late federal Union. Your refusal to entertain these overtures for a peaceful solution, the active and military preparation of this government, and a formal notice to the commanding general of the Confederate forces in the harbor of Charleston that the President intends to provision Fort Sumter by forcible means, if necessary, are viewed by the undersigned, and can only be received by the world, as a declaration of war against the Confederate States, for the President of the United States knows that Fort Sumter cannot be provisioned without the effusion of blood. The undersigned, in behalf of their government and people, accept the gage of battle thus thrown down to them; and, appealing to God and the judgment of mankind for the righteousness of their cause, lay

people of the Confederate States will defend their liberties to the last against this flagrant and open attempt at their subjugation to sectional power.

This communication cannot be properly closed without advising to the date of your memorandum. The official note of the undersigned, of the 12th March, was delivered to the Assistant Secretary of State on the 13th of that month, the gentleman who delivered it informing him that the Secretary of this Commission would call at twelve o'clock, noon, on the next day, for an answer. At the appointed hour Mr. Pickett did call, and was informed by the Assistant Secretary of State that the engagement of the Secretary of State had prevented him from giving the note his attention. The Assistant Secretary of State then asked for the address of Messrs. Crawford and Forsyth, the members of the Commission then present in this city, took note of the address on a card, and engaged to send whatever reply might be made to their lodgings. Why this was not done it is proper should be explained. The memorandum dated March 15, and was not delivered until April 8. Why was it withheld during the intervening twenty-three days? In the postscript to your memorandum you say it "was delayed, as was understood with their consent. They have now, through their secretary, communicated their desire for a definitive disposition of the subject. This is true; but it is also true that on the 10th of March Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford were assured by a person occupying a high official position in the government, and who, as they believed, was speaking by authority, that Fort Sumter would be evacuated within a very few days, and that no measure changing the existing status prejudicially to the Confederate States, as regards Fort Pickens, was then contemplated, and these assurances were subsequently repeated, with the addition that any contemplated change as respects Pickens would be notified to us. On the last of April we were again informed that there might be an attempt to supply Fort Sumter with provisions, but that Governor Pickens should have previous notice of this attempt. There was no suggestion of any reinforcement. The undersigned did not hesitate to believe that these assurances expressed the intentions of the administration at the time, or at all events of prominent members of that administration. This delay was assented to for the express purpose of attaining the great end of the mission of the undersigned, to wit—A peaceful solution of existing complications. The inference deducible from the date of your memorandum, that the undersigned had, of their own volition and without cause, consented to this long hiatus in the grave duties with which they were charged, is therefore not consistent with a just exposition of the facts of the case. The intervening twenty-three days were employed in active official efforts, the object of which was to smooth the